

# PEACE NEWS

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## TRAGEDY OF GERMANY

*Will it be repeated?*

by WILFRED WELLOCK

In the July 18 session of the Brains Trust—the last of the recent series—Colonel Walter Elliot, answering the question: "What has the war taught me?" said with considerable emphasis and feeling that the chief thing the war had taught him was the necessity of being ready and willing to defend one's country, by actual fighting, in order to defeat such barbarism as was now appearing in the world.

COLONEL Elliot's answer compelled me to ask why almost the entire British nation, including its politicians and economists, the Church and the intellectuals, is able to evade the challenge which this war makes to our civilization.

Is it due to self-deception, to the spiritual blindness engendered by State propaganda, or to conventional patriotism, the emotionalism of a brief unity of national purpose, that so many distinguished people should see this war as an insurgence of righteousness within the United Nations against a monster—or are there several?—which arose without provocation from the tranquillity of a just and orderly world?

### Effect of propaganda

One of the most disturbing things the war has taught me is the paralyzing effect which a State-controlled news and wireless service and a State propaganda department can have upon the mind of an entire nation. These agencies are capable of blotting out wide areas of vital truth, decades of significant history, and of enveloping the future in a mist of wordy idealism and sentimental nationalism, thereby doping and sealing the national mind against the "poison" of minority opinion.

It is extremely disquieting that minds of the order of Colonel Elliot's should be able to disconnect an evil like Nazism from the conditions out of which it sprang, and should see the future in terms of punishing the authors of Nazism, meeting similar evils by military preparation, and continuing in its main features a social order which, as the last thirty years prove, will lead to still worse economic breakdowns and more diabolical dictatorships.

The tragedy of life in Germany from 1918 to 1933, when Hitler came to power, has never been realized by the British people; had it been, the

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

### BE PREPARED

EVENTS are moving rapidly. It is more than ever necessary that our movement should be maintained and that we should be ready for the work that lies ahead.

Our finances are at present behind the budget figure, so why not look up a few old subscribers who may be glad to contribute regularly?

Contributions to Headquarters Fund since Jul. 28: £14 5s. 2d. Total to date: £200 14s. 3d.

Donations to the Fund, which should be marked "Headquarters Fund," will be gratefully received by me at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE.  
Hon. Treasurer.

# WHAT ARE BRITAIN'S PEACE PRINCIPLES?

## A question Churchill dodges

PROBABLY the passages of Mr. Churchill's speech which most impressed the ordinary Londoner were those in which he anticipated the use by the Germans of a still more formidable secret weapon: V2—of which more anon. Or it may have been the jaunty note of confidence in victory "soon"—the operative word which has upset official circles in USA, where there is no National Service Act and 100,000 workers a month are leaving war-work to make sure of jobs when peace comes.

Yet, in this matter, Mr. Churchill chose his language carefully—even meticulously: "I fear greatly to raise false hopes, but I no longer feel bound to deny that victory may come perhaps soon." In that sentence we salute one who is a master of exact statement when he cares to be. On this subject Mr. Churchill has a conscience: and it guides his choice of words.

### A foolish phrase

THERE was very little sign of conscience in his treatment of the matter which most deeply concerns those who try to see beyond the day: the question of future peace and the principles of justice on which peace must be based if there is to be peace at all. Here his language betrayed the lack of conscience and, indeed, concern. Consider this sentence:

"The whole of Europe is heading, irresistibly, into new and secure foundations."

The literary critic might deduce a good deal from that. It is as though the last four words "new and secure foundations" had been simply substituted for "disaster" or "catastrophe." Mr. Churchill's mind is not working at all and it produces, through sheer carelessness, a foolish sentence: for the last thing a sane man would dream of doing with foundations is to head into them.

The whole of Europe, undoubtedly, is heading into something. We have more belief in the initial notion of Mr. Churchill's mind than the second thought so queerly superimposed upon it. "Disaster," not "foundations," is the word.

### Evading the demand

OF a piece with this tell-tale sentence is the essential flippancy—the opposite of "high seriousness"—with which he brushed aside the demand for a statement of principles of peace.

"One of my difficulties is that it does not rest with me to lay down the law for all our allies. If that was the general wish, I could certainly make one or two suggestions; but, odd as it may seem, countries like the United States and Russia might wish to have their say in this matter (laughter) and might not look on it from exactly the same angle, or express it in exactly the same terms as would gain the loudest applause in this House. I am sorry about this, because nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to devote a couple of hours in giving my personal ideas about the general lay-out (laughter) but it would be very troublesome to all of us here if I made a great pronouncement on this subject and found myself contradicted and even repudiated by our most powerful allies."

Mr. Churchill got his laughs; and probably his joke was good enough for the great democracy which he leads, and of which he is representative in his carelessness of things to come. But the momentary success is achieved by the abnegation of responsible leadership. It is pure evasion.

### The British contribution

FOR no-one is asking for Mr. Churchill's personal views on the peace-settlement. What thoughtful men, in every political camp, demand is some statement of the principles of peace to which this country regards itself as committed. Such a statement of principle has been made already—the Atlantic Charter. It was Mr. Churchill himself who repudiated it, acting apparently on his own initiative. He was not restrained on that occasion by any misgivings about the reactions of the Allies.

Nor is his readiness to make policy-statements confined to matters of principle. He was not restrained, by any thought of the repercussions in USA, when he promised that Poland should be "compensated" by the

annexation of East Prussia. The House of Commons had no opportunity to influence or discuss that decision. It is difficult not to believe that Mr. Churchill makes policy as and when the fancy takes him.

Even The Times (Aug. 3) is unimpressed by his evasion.

"There need be nothing inconsistent between the closest understanding among the three great Allies and a broad declaration of British desires and purposes in the peace. Britain should, and must have her own contribution to make."

Not, I think, if Mr. Churchill can help it.

### Eden's view

MEANWHILE, characteristically enough, Mr. Eden as Foreign Secretary was busy laying down a very definite and novel principle of the peace-settlement. Probably it would carry the approval of our Allies; but there is neither evidence, nor suggestion, that such approval has been obtained.

"One of the conditions of that peace (i.e., a negotiated peace) is that every country in Europe shall be entitled to have the government which it desires and there shall be no dictation at all from outside. Applying that to Germany, is the House going to say that that is our position? Supposing, after the conclusion of hostilities, another Nazi power was to come forward in Germany, is it suggested that we could disinterest ourselves in that power? WE COULD NOT FOR A MOMENT ACCEPT THAT GERMANY WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO ESTABLISH THE GOVERNMENT SHE WISHED, HOWEVER MUCH THAT GOVERNMENT MIGHT THREATEN THE FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE. He could not conceive that the Nazi-trained German mentality was going willingly to accept a peace which did not allow a future Nazi domination of Europe. That was the fundamental problem which we must face up to."

Noticeably, the question—formulated in those terms—is quite insoluble. The only kind of peace possible is one which the Germans cannot accept. If this is the best that the Foreign Secretary can think up in August, 1944, he really ought to make way for somebody with a mind. (It is worth noting that the sentence in block letters, which appears in The Times report, is omitted in Hansard.)

### Results of indecision

THE general picture of government political thought which emerges from Mr. Churchill's speech and Mr.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

## Observer's Commentary

## BEST REMEDY FOR SUFFERING

— by a German

"The last, and always the best, remedy against all suffering in the world is so simple that one hardly likes to mention it—love."

THIS was the final phrase in a remarkable article published in the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, Jul. 30. Written by Eugen Roth after the recent heavy raids on Munich, the article said:

"We have experienced deep distress, but the abyss below us is even deeper and we resist the temptation to let ourselves fall."

"Studying this subject we find that the highest degree of distress, in the form of momentary danger, and the deepest distress, such as spiritual helplessness, seldom afflict us simultaneously. Otherwise we could hardly pass the test."

"What medicine would be useful? We know of only one that would help. Peace, peace. But this peace must not in any circumstances be an 'end at any price'. That would merely make us worse off than ever and would literally be physical death for our nation of 80,000,000. All other medicines are mere palliatives, no more. There might be stronger drugs, but they would be dangerous and their effect uncertain."

"Religion in the narrower sense of the word is precious for those who feel religious, but those who only want it temporarily, as long as the bombs are falling, will not get very far."

### 95 PER CENT FOR PACIFISM

A poll of students and faculty in the Union Theological Seminary of Buenos Aires—a Protestant evangelical school in Argentina's capital—has brought out a sharp division between students and instructors on the issue of religious pacifism.

Only one member of the faculty is a pacifist, whereas 95 per cent. of the undergraduates take an uncompromising pacifist stand on war.—World-over Press.

## A friendly day for enemies

The moving scene when an exchange of prisoners of war between Britain and Germany took place in Barcelona on May 17, has been described by the Rev. Herbert Brown, British Embassy Chaplain at Madrid, in the June issue of the Diocese of Gibraltar News Sheet, a copy of which has recently reached us.

The Rev. Herbert Brown visited Barcelona for the occasion, from his account of which we take the following passages:

IT was an experience filled throughout with pathos, yet with unusual joy. Some 2,000 men, many of them mutilated, were being released after four years in the camps and prisons of their enemies, and restored to their homes and loved ones.

I spent the best part of 7 or 8 hours . . . conversing with groups and individuals, seeing to their needs. On not one single face, even amongst the stretcher-cases, did I fail to see a smile of happiness and contentment. All had their stories to tell; some poignant, some highly amusing, some quite impossible to credit! But there were no complaints, no grouching, no ill-feeling at all.

The sick and wounded loved their German nurses to the end, and wept when leaving them. I saw one poor fellow hugging to his breast a bunch of roses—a last souvenir—as he lay on his stretcher!

Perhaps the most moving episode throughout the day was when simultaneously from either ship an English and a German General—prisoners—were exchanged over and escorted by the officer commanding the ship to his own nationals. There is an excellent picture of this . . . in all the Spanish journals, and looking into the expression on the faces of these men—enemies at the moment to the death, yet filled with humanity and friendliness—one might label it "the hope of the future."

At about 7 o'clock in the afternoon, all being aboard, there began the distribution of the lavish gifts of food, wine, fruits, etc., made to the men of each ship in perfect impartiality by the various Spanish Corporations, by the Red Cross, etc.

### THEY LET HIM BUILD A CHURCH

The Rev. E. L. Andrews, rector of Sandon, Essex, who was captured by the Japanese while a captain in the Intelligence Corps at Singapore, has written home to say he is working in a church he has built himself.

"He is padre to the other prisoners, and is believed to be in Malaya."  
—Evening Standard, Jul. 19.



## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
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All letters on other than editorial matters  
should be addressed to the Manager

### THE LOVE OF POWER

A SIGNIFICANT turn has been given to German internal propaganda since the "Generals' revolt." Hey's outburst against "the blue-blooded swine" has not been isolated: Goebbels and Dittmar, with less vehemence but more intelligence, insinuate that malcontents among the generals are partly responsible for the German defeats in the East. And the general impression given to the German listener is roughly this: a small section of army leaders was prepared to make away with Hitler and acknowledge military defeat in the hope of renewing the struggle in after years. Their attempted coup failed. "It was" (says Goebbels) "smashed by the army itself": by which he implies the rank-and-file and officers of the distinctively Nazi army, who, like the German people, with whom they are consubstantial, "know full well that there is no possibility for us to renew this conflict say in ten, twenty or fifty years."

It is, therefore, a fight to the finish. But what can the finish mean? It cannot mean a German victory. It may mean a prolongation of defence by a still united nation till something turns up, or the unknown and unknowable happens.

Behind the policy, or the dream, lies the mass-mystical conception of the German people which—we cannot too often remind ourselves—is the foundation of Nazism. The Nazi revolution, which was (from this angle) a real revolution, was the process by which the German nation was finally and completely united, finally and completely purged, in preparation for the accomplishment of its mission.

What was the mission? The abolition of pluto-democracy, the extermination of the Jews, the unification of Europe, the defence of Europe against Bolshevism—these appear, both in the light of events and by the nature of the creed itself, to be hardly more than rationalizations of the sense of destiny with which Hitler himself was filled, and with which he inspired his fanatical followers, and at one remove the German people. There is not much doubt that a working majority of the German people, inclined at once to authoritarianism and mass-mysticism, looked upon Hitler as the divinely appointed leader. Whether any other nation, in similar circumstances, would have done the same is probably an unreal question. The German people, like any other, at once creates and is the creation of its circumstances.

Hitler's achievement, by his Nazi revolution, was to set the German nation in motion, as a whole: that is to say, to set in motion the unprecedented instrument of pure power which a great modern industrial nation, perfectly organized, really is. On a colossal scale, he was like the possessor of a modern speed-machine, who cannot be satisfied until it is "all-out." He is driven "to show what it can do." The modern industrialized and socialized nation is a titanic speed-machine. The mere possibility of seizing the controls, single-handed, of so mighty a machine is sufficient in itself to inspire the characteristic mentality of the machine-age, which, consciously or unconsciously, worships power, in the physical sense of the word.

The power that is concentrated in a modern industrial nation, when it is ruthlessly organized, can be seized only by means of an appeal to the masses, who are in the last resort the creators and indispensable agents of the power. Hitler saw that, from the beginning. But he also saw that the masses themselves worship power. They respected it when it was wielded by an autocrat; when the autocrat derives it from themselves they dote upon it. Hitler is thus more powerful than the Kaiser, his predecessor; just as Stalin is more powerful than the Czar. Power ascends, in a machine-

## We have seen this sort of plan before

ON Apr. 26, 1918, the Coalition Government of the period issued its final plans for providing stable employment in Britain. The document carries the serial number "Cd. 9305 of 1918, price 9d."

On Dec. 22, 1918, the Coalition Government issued another document stating the financial facilities under which the plan of April, 1918, could be carried out. This is known as "Cd. 9305 of 1918, price 9d."

In May, 1944, the National Government issued its final plans for providing stable employment. This is "Cmd. Employment Policy, price 6d."

If readers will take the trouble to read again the two documents of 1918 they can almost spare themselves the trouble of reading the document issued in 1944. For the document of 1944 is largely the two documents of 1918 rolled into one and interspersed with what Mr. Maxton has called "musings and meanderings on the economic problems of our time by a Cambridge undergraduate."

Let us remember that in 1918 Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister and all his public record shows that he was as anxious to do well by the poor as is Mr. Churchill. Mr. Lloyd George failed, but not because he wished to fail. The sentiments were not at fault. But by the spring of 1921 the Government was obliged to bring in a Bill to deal with the growing unemployment. The Labour Party had previously refused to enter discussions on the measures to be taken.

### Why they failed

Now why did the noble sentiments contained in the 1918 documents fail to secure stable employment? The answer simply is that the sentiments and the proposals were a superstructure erected on the structure which had functioned, or rather failed to function, since the institution of the Money Market as the basis of production. When asked in the 1944

debate what were the Government's positive proposals, Sir John Anderson replied: "Nothing in this paper is to be taken as embodying any departure from our traditional standards of sound Budgetary finance."

These traditional standards of sound finance are the structure on which the proposals in the White Paper are erected. The structure collapsed in 1920, and the proposals came down with it. The 1918 proposals and sentiments were in themselves as excellent as those of 1944.

The 1918 plans visualized a great demand for men and materials after the war. The 1918 White Paper said: "It will be necessary to continue for some period after the war some part of the control of home and foreign trade imposed during the war in order to secure adequate supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials and their fair distribution."

The 1944 report says the same thing. The 1918 report also said: "The individualistic methods hitherto adopted should be supplemented or entirely replaced by co-operation in respect of . . ."

Here the report indicates a long list of things in which co-operation can be secured.

The 1944 report gives the same list. Moreover, the 1918 report, like that of 1944, promises financial aid by way of tax reliefs and direct State spending to assist in maintaining stable employment. The 1918 report on this says:

"No industry of real importance to our economic strength and well-being should be allowed to be weakened by foreign competition."

### Only new idea

Actually there is only one positive proposal in the White Paper of 1944 which was not already tried in 1918-1920. I refer to the elaborate proposals for transferring batches of men to jobs.

Labour transference was tried out on a small scale. It was not tried on a large scale because there were no large number of jobs needing large numbers of men. Quite the reverse. I find, for instance, that on Feb. 10, 1921, speaking in support of the

## LETTERS

### A sign of hope

Peace News should be encouraged by the recent debate in the House of Commons on the £1,000 million for the prosecution of the war.

Eleven speakers out of 16 condemned the folly of the policy of "unconditional surrender." Most of them advocated a clearer statement of peace-terms and one Tory said that the war would have been over if we had been more explicit about our aims.

Peace News has been saying these things for years. It is a sign of hope that the war-makers are becoming alive to some truth.

(Rev.) RICHARD LEE  
Westgate, Stoke Park, Coventry.

### Class distinction in U.S.S.R.

Life is not easy for the pacifist: divided from friends and relations by his convictions, and unable to co-operate in national effort. I wonder if you realize how these difficulties are accentuated by the attitude of "Observer" in Peace News. His last note in the issue of Jul. 28 is deliberately provocative.

I have before me the whole of the "New Soviet Law on Mothers and Children, Marriage and Divorce," and "Observer's" quotation from The Economist is blatantly misleading. I think you owe it to your readers to print at least the following paragraphs dealing with divorce:

"ARTICLE 24. In bringing a court action for the dissolution of a marriage, the following conditions to be compulsorily observed:

"(a) Presentation to the People's Court of a notice of the desire to dissolve the marriage, indicating the motives for the dissolution, and also the surname, etc., of the husband or wife. Upon presentation of the notice, 100 roubles is payable.

"(b) The husband or wife to be summoned into court to become acquainted with the divorce statement of the wife or husband.

"(c) Publication in the local newspaper of

society, by way of popular revolution, into a new dimension of titanism.

Such power Hitler set in motion. He let the titanic power-machine rip, and evoke other titanic power-machines to meet the onset. If and when the German power-machine finally gives out—and it may be a long while yet before it does—what happens?

(This final question will be discussed in next week's leading article.)

the notice, the cost of publishing to be borne by the husband or wife who gives notice.

"ARTICLE 25. The People's Court is obliged to establish the motives for notice of dissolution, and take measures to reconcile the husband and wife, to which end both the divorcing parties must absolutely be summoned and, where necessary, witnesses.

In the event of a reconciliation between husband and wife not taking place in the People's Court, the claimant has the right to apply for the dissolution of the marriage in a higher court."

"Observer's" quotation of the phrase "fees . . . have been fixed so high as to be entirely prohibitive for the working classes. Divorce has become a privilege open only to the high-income classes" only needs consideration to make its absurdity manifest. In the Soviet Union, the working classes may be and often are the high-income classes.

DOROTHY HAWKIN

Old Tiverton Rd., Exeter.

The text of the new regulation appears to confirm the comment upon it quoted from The Economist. The People's Court cannot grant a divorce. Failing reconciliation the petitioners have merely a right to apply for dissolution in a higher court. Is a fresh fee payable?

The suggestion that the manual labourers are the high-income classes in Russia does not correspond with the facts.—Ed., PN.

### That Rundstedt quotation

Regarding your inquiry (Jul. 28) re Hitler and Rundstedt, I have today received from Dr. Howard Kershner a leaflet dated Apr. 19, 1944, and entitled "Save Europe's Children," in which both Rundstedt's comment and the other comment in Life of May 8 from General von Stulpnagel (Nazi Commander in the Paris area) are repeated. The Stulpnagel quotation is, however, prefaced by the reference: "As quoted by William Philip Simms." The Rundstedt quotation following immediately after suggests, though not actually saying, that Simms is the source of this too.

No description of Simms himself is given. Presumably he is an American commentator or war correspondent. But he seems the most likely person to be able to say where these quotations originated.

VERA BRITAIN

2 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.3.

As the issue of Life in question did not give any source for either of the quotations referred to, Dr. Kershner must have checked them elsewhere.—Ed. PN.

### Ex-Service pacifists

With reference to the letter on above subject which appeared in the issue of July 7 the writer wishes to thank all who have written to him on the subject.

Owing to pressure of work and intervention of holidays he has been unable to deal with all letters sent. All these will be answered as time permits. Apologies tendered for delay.

R. POLLARD

94 Queen's Rd., Richmond, Surrey.

## John Scanlon contrasts the White Paper on Employment with a 1918 plan

Unemployment Bill of that month, Mr. G. N. Barnes, a member of the Government, said:

" . . . Spells of unemployment are inevitable. They may arise from a variety of causes beyond human control . . ."

"A good deal might be done in the way of financing or inducing the banks to finance employers of labour, who would then be able to keep on their workers if they could be assisted over their temporary difficulties . . ."

But on Oct. 19, 1921, the Prime Minister in "unfolding his plans for dealing with the unemployment question" said:

"The suggestion has been made that as the world needed goods we should manufacture them and send them abroad. But it was no use stacking British goods in rotting pyramids in foreign depots."

And that was the end of two years of trying to increase our exports.

Let it be said that from 1918 until the new Bill of October, 1921, was introduced, the Coalition Government had tried every expedient now recommended in the White Paper of 1944. It had also carried out the policy outlined by Sir John Anderson. It had refused "any departure from our traditional policy of sound finance."

### Raising difficulties

The essential difference between the proposals of 1918 and those of 1944 is simply this. In 1918, the report stated the proposals and did not qualify them. The 1944 report has not one single positive paragraph that is not cancelled out or qualified by a subsequent paragraph.

Take, for instance, the most lauded proposal, that for ruling out booms and slumps. To keep stability the White Paper says that at the first sign of a slump everybody, including the Government, should begin to spend. But what can the Government or local authorities spend? Only money which they raise by taxation. And the White Paper says any increase in taxation increases our difficulties of competing. In addition the White Paper of 1944 says:

"Not only the national dead-weight debt in the narrow sense, but other public indebtedness which involves directly or indirectly a charge on the Exchequer or on the rates, reacts on the financial system."

Well, there we are. The Government and the local authorities must spend to provide full employment. But if they do so it will "react on the financial system." And above all we must not do anything which would be a departure from our traditional standards of sound finance. The Government declares it is a pioneer. But what does the pioneering amount to? Page 5 of the White Paper of 1944 says:

" . . . It is with industry that the responsibility and initiative must rest for making the most of their opportunities to recover their export markets and to find fresh outlets for their products."

Turn now to 1918. The White Paper of that year says:

"The remedy for shortage of capital after the war, however, must be sought mainly in the increase of production and saving."

It also: "emphasizes the importance of every effort on the part of employers and employed to attain the largest possible volume of production in order to secure the speedy recovery of our industrial and financial position."

Pioneers, oh! pioneers! Everybody likes pioneers provided they do not depart from our traditional standards of sound finance.

Just out. Fourpence.

## CATALOGUE OF CONVICTION

The Case of George Elphick

C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1

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## SHOP

THE Commons have asked their questions about food-relief, the Lords have debated the Kershner Plan—and Parliament has disbanded for the summer vacation. No answer has been made to the proposals from Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France that relief on Kershner lines should be sent to the sick and hungry children in the cities of occupied Europe. Autumn and winter are not so far off as they seem on a sunny evening in August.

Why is nothing done? A prominent American news-letter recently stated that President Roosevelt has asked Mr. Churchill to agree to the extension of relief along the lines of the unanimous Congress resolutions. "Churchill refused." That may well be the sole reason why relief is not sent.

\* \* \*

Parliament is often impolitely referred to as a talking-shop, and if it is indeed ruled arbitrarily by one man it is no more than that. I want to talk shop and to talk about shops. Last year and in 1942 we had half-a-dozen shop displays in circulation. Well over a hundred towns had them and they were a considerable success. The drawback was that the screens were large and not too light and the accessories were soon damaged or lost. The new shop displays this year are quite a different proposition. They consist of five illustrated posters in two colours, brilliantly designed by Stanley Vincent who produced the earlier displays for the Campaign. A descriptive leaflet will be sent free on request. The posters can also be used for poster parades and public meetings, as well as in shop windows. The set costs only 3s.

Now that the Belgian Prime Minister has told us that the new plan which Belgium, Holland, Norway, and France are discussing with the British and American Governments is based on the Kershner Plan, from which it differs only in detail and not at all in principle, there is need and opportunity for a big campaigning effort.

\* \* \*

The Food Relief Campaign has co-operated with the National Peace Council to produce a new four-page leaflet on food relief. Published by the NPC at 8d. a dozen, 5s. a 100, this leaflet "To Save the Starving..." should be of the greatest use to mixed committees as well as to PPU groups.

Please write to me if you want any further information, or let me come down to talk to a meeting of interested local people if you want to get a committee going.

ROY WALKER

## FOOD RELIEF SAVES ATHENS

But children of Paris are in urgent need

"Athens is kept alive by the Red Cross. The bread ration is about six ounces daily."

"In regions of the country with a population of 2,000,000 there have been 144,000 deaths from starvation in three years."

"Livestock has been reduced by 80 per cent. From lack of agricultural tools, among other reasons, one-third of the cultivable land has gone fallow."

THESE statements come from the Daily Telegraph Cairo correspondent. The same source states that "of 25,000 Athens children medically examined recently 75 per cent. were found to be tuberculous." The plight of Greece is still more desperate than that of any other occupied country, with the possible exception of Poland.

### HUNGRY PARIS

"Reports from persons who have escaped from Paris since D-Day make it absolutely clear that the problem of feeding the city after our armies reach it will be of staggering, almost terrifying proportions," declared the Manchester Guardian (July 29).

"Since the invasion started the French capital has received neither meat nor vegetables. More serious still, perhaps, is the fact that the supply of food parcels from Normandy and elsewhere, by which unofficial method the Parisians maintained at least a minimum standard of nourishment, has also stopped. When Paris is liberated Normandy will be able to send her meat, butter, and milk."

But the BBC recently warned French listeners that "they had better store up supplies as best they could because the Allies would be able to distribute only limited supplies while the fighting was going on and for some time afterwards."

### WHAT KERSHNER SAW

In Paris now there is nothing to store and little to eat. A statement in May by Dr. Howard Kershner depicts

### Words of Peace—85

Peace will not be finally regained until men are again the servants of a new purpose capable of satisfying their spiritual instincts and setting them on some new adventure in the quest of higher things.

—Harold Butler, "The Lost Peace."

## OBITUARY

Reginald Adams, who died on Jul. 27, aged thirty, was a keen pacifist and church worker. He was one of the early members of the Rotherham group of the PPU. Early in the war he gave up his position in a steel works for conscientious reasons. Later he appeared before a tribunal and was directed to land work.

the kind of scenes which must now be common in the French capital:

"When I left France," he writes, "one's ration tickets would produce about 1,000 calories daily. Everyone was hungry and losing weight. Few could afford unrationed food or black market purchases. At the best hotels one could not get enough to eat. In the cities most of the children came to school without breakfast—for lunch a small piece of bread and sometimes an onion, turnip or a few radishes—for supper vegetable soup. Occasionally a child fainted at its desk. At lunch and recess the little ones would sit quietly in the sun, not playing, scarcely talking—an unnatural quietness ruled the playgrounds."

"I have seen starving adults weighing as little as eighty pounds; children with distended stomachs, rickety legs and in all stages of tuberculosis. I have heard the tubercular cough mingled with the cry for bread. I have had thin little hands stretched out to me while weak little voices begged for food. I can never forget the sight of large expressive eyes set in the bloodless faces of children who will never grow up. I have seen so much starvation in all stages that to me it is merely academic disputing to try to prove that it does not exist."

Kershner's own plan could save these Paris children now, and the children of the cities of Norway, Holland and Belgium too. Every effort must be made to see that this plan, now endorsed by the exiled authorities of these countries, is put into operation before winter comes again to Europe.

## WIDE INTERPRETATION OF ANTI-STRIKE LAW

If a trade union organizer calls a strike—even though it is an "official" one, decided upon at a union meeting—he would be liable to prosecution under Defence Regulation 1A (a) if his action took place outside the meeting itself.

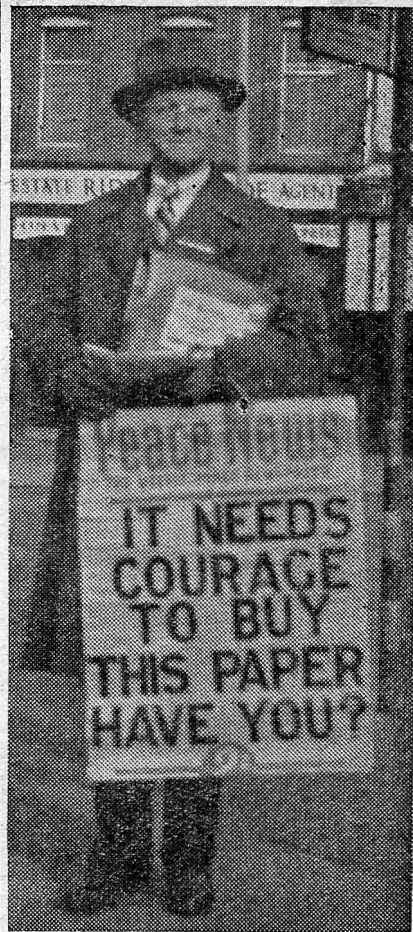
This interpretation of the powers existing under the anti-strike regulation has been received by the PPU London Area Organizer from Robert Lean, Organizer of the Scottish Typographical Association, to whom it was given by an official. Only a test in the courts could prove the validity of this interpretation.

(A word was omitted in error from our report, on Jul. 28, of the publication of a leaflet by the PPU London Area. The first sentence of the report should have opened as follows: "The withdrawal of Defence Regulation 1A(a), which makes it illegal for anyone to propose or support strike action except at a meeting constitutionally convened by a trade union...")

## A C.O. IN TWO WARS Jailed for third time

Robert Wilkinson of Leeds is a conscientious objector to fire-guard duties. A CO in the last war, he was sent to prison for the third time in this war by Leeds Police Court on July 27 for refusing to fire-watch.

On all three occasions he has been sentenced to three months, the maximum sentence of imprisonment that a police court can impose for the offence.



... and courage to sell it too

The Peace News seller is Frederick G. Prior, of Bournemouth; the poster (drawn locally) is the one which he has found the most effective in selling the paper to the public. Frederick Prior is one of the band of sellers who, in various parts of the country, for years have helped to keep PN in the public eye despite all difficulties. You can help to back up their work by finding new readers in your own circle of acquaintances.

During July we printed an average of 18,750 copies a week. This is the same as the figure for June; the absence of a rise in circulation during July is due partly to the dislocation which has in some places resulted from evacuation, and to the expiration of some 3-months' "trial subscriptions." But the much more widespread difficulties of 1940-41 produced only a temporary setback in the rise in circulation that was in progress at that time; with your help the encouraging upward trend that we were able to report from January to June this year can be resumed this month. Remember: we still need more than another 1,000 readers a week!

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements. When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

### ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

WANTED, BY author and artist wife, unfurnished cottage, Wales, or any remote or peaceful district. Box 561.

C.O. AND disabled mother and sister require cottage or house to rent in truly rural area, Suffolk, Hereford, etc., for permanent residence. Box 562.

PACIFIST LAND-WORKER requires board-residence within 5 miles Neasden. Reasonable fees. Box 563.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

FREEMOUNT SCHOOL offers warm welcome Y.H.A. members and others to drop in for a night—Aug. 8 to Sept. 11. Music, free discussion. Please send P.C. Bacton Manor, Hereford (near Pontillas).

MAN AND wife seek accommodation for restful holiday. For week commencing Sept. 16. Full board. Box 560.

### ACCOMMODATION REQUIRED

for vegetarians, 2 ladies and 2 girls 15 and 11 yrs. for first 2 weeks September, quiet and peaceful area, caravan or bungalow considered. Advertiser, 10 Gloucester Gdns., Cockfosters, Barnet.

### EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686.)

GUIDE TO Christian Living. Religious questions answered. Postal course, with books. John Lochiel, 102 Oakley St., S.W.3.

### FOR SALE AND WANTED

ALLYSOL—After 5,000 years a way has been found to remove from garlic its intolerable smell. Get to know Allysol healing liquid, tablets, and sweet-smelling garlic ointment. Send for booklets about garlic. Please refer to advert. in this issue.

LAMB BRAND typewriter ribbons. Cleanest, clearest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours, Peace News, Hardman and Sons, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LOOK BEFORE you leap! Original works by Gill, John, Brangwyn, Nevinson, etc., from 10s. 6d. cheerfully sent on approval. Write 5 Grove Terrace, N.W.5.

RE-USE ENVELOPES—with Peace News economy labels. 1s. for 100, 2s. for 1,000. Order from your local distributor or direct from P.N. Office.

### LITERATURE, etc.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and 'practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the 'Friends' Home Service Committee 'Friends' House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1.

40,000 SECOND-HAND books on theology, Bible study, liturgy, mysticism, pacifism, psychology, sociology, politics, gardening etc. Monthly list 2d., allowed for on return. Profits help Franciscan community. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Rd., London, S.W.5.

### MEETINGS, etc.

BRISTOL DOWNS open-air meeting. Sybil Morrison on "Negotiated Peace." Six-thirty, Sat. and Sun., Aug. 12 and 13.

### PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

YOUNG MAN wants digs, country, seaside. Also purchase business or partnership where initiative, intelligence, ability compensated by reasonable standard living. Any part country. Box 564.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

PEACE NEWS Publishing Dept. needs a secretary-assistant: short-hand-typing, filing, a share in the general work. Would probably suit girl under "military" age, or married woman. Any applications gladly considered. Write Office Manager.

HELPER WANTED in September to take charge of 5-7-year-old group. Pocket-money only. Very remote country place. Richard Phibbs, B.A., Beer Farm School, Dulverton.

ASSISTANT MASTER required by small prep. school (established 1873) in South Coast town. Small class, congenial atmosphere, good holidays. Apply fully stating salary required. Box 565.

### SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

LADY WISHES to assist to run, or be initiated into running, second-hand bookshop. Will go anywhere. Box 544.

ACCOUNTANT, EX-SCRUBS C.O., prepares all forms of accounts, Income Tax returns, audits etc. Box 559.

C.O., 20, public school, 2 yrs.' land (mainly mk.-gardening), drive, type, some clerical knowledge, strong, adaptable, seeks position with prospects combining mental and land work; school possibly? Could take some games, subjects. Box 559.

C.O., 39, urgently needs work, anywhere, land, horticultural, clerical, car-driver. Board and small wage considered. Box 556.

C.O., MARRIED, 3 yrs.' experience market-gardening and greenhouses, some experience arable farming, seeks post with accommodation, preferably cottage. Box 566.

Do you read Peace News Pamphlets? They are published at approximately monthly intervals, deal with subjects of topical interest, and cost only 1d. each. Ask your PN distributor about them, or in case of difficulty write to 3 Blackstock Rd.

When settling accounts with Peace News (whether for supplies or advertisements) please do not use postage stamps for payment, except for odd pence up to sixpence. Postal orders and cheques facilitate bookkeeping and banking.

### MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

NATURE-CURE TREATMENT of disease (including eyes). Reginald J. Bailey, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath, 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchester Hill, N.21. (Ex-Maidstone C.O.) Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.

WRITERS WANTED to support campaign to acclaim Mahatma Gandhi as "The World Leader" of the next period of history on supreme and vital issue of non-violence. Write Milner, 8 Mill St., Cambridge.

### LAND AND COMMUNITY

£350 FREEHOLD. 1½ acres market-garden land, main road, mains water, lovely locality 4½ miles Dorset market town, partly planted half std. fruit trees. New timber building 20ft. x 15ft. lined, ceiling and loft, roof drainage. Converted caravan, new Elsan. Two large fowl-houses on wheels. Stoves, timbers, tanks, etc. Box 567.

### WHAT THE P.P.U. STANDS FOR . . .

IF, after reading Peace News, you would like to know more about the Peace Pledge Union, write for information to: The General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the PPU: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

If you decide that you cannot support this or any other war, it will encourage others and may be helpful to yourself if you join the Union.

The Union stands for the rejection of war, for the method of seeking to overcome evil by good, and for the constant endeavour to create right relationships among men and nations.



## Britain's lack of a policy

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

Eden's statements is deeply depressing. They appear to have given up thinking: perhaps with the idea of postponing that laborious exercise to the peace-conference. It is now quite obvious that "Unconditional surrender" was coined simply in order to avoid the necessity of thought.

We who stand, in idea, outside the battle can acknowledge the futility of our thinking. It is futile because the authorities of the country do not think at all. Therefore the factor of Great Britain in the combination of forces that make up world-politics is quite incalculable.

The most strident voices of the Left proclaim a simple policy: "What Russia does, is right." Certainly Mr. Churchill does not accept that. But what he does accept—that no man knoweth, probably including himself. In the ensuing mental and moral confusion, what Russia does, does not become right; but what Russia wills, becomes Law.

### An odd analogy

THE New Statesman (Aug. 5)—perhaps stimulated in part by my criticism of its attitude on the Polish question—prints a lengthy apologia. One sentence of it is given the emphasis of italics:

"Much becomes clear when we realize that the Polish situation is very much what the French would have been if the Vichy Government had been in England during the war and De Gaulle with the resistance movement in France."

As in duty bound I have tried to get my mind round this, in the hope that it would give me the clue to an attitude which seems to me anti-liberal and incomprehensible. But, in fact, the analogy is fantastic. The hypothetical situation with which the Polish situation is compared is quite unthinkable. Had Vichy been in England, it would not have been Vichy. Had De Gaulle been in France, he would have been as effective as Daladier—in prison.

Some sort of analogy might have been drawn between the situation of Yugoslavia and that of Poland. That comparison would have revealed the weakness of the New Statesman's apologia for the indefensible.

### V.2 — and vengeance

IF V.2 does materialize, we must make up our minds to the sequel. The demand for the utmost possible severity in the peace-terms to Germany will become universal.

And, at this point in the military struggle, it is going to be very difficult to meet the arguments of those who will contend that it is just wanton slaughter. Nor do I, personally, feel inclined to deny that Nazism *in extremis* may be capable of this.

## THE HEALING POWER OF GARLIC

### A herbal remedy with 5000 years of history

"If garlic is not a universal remedy and a renewer of health and youth, it appears at least to come nearer to that dream than any known thing given by nature for the use of man."

Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root

Get to know ALLYSOL, the healing and purifying power of garlic without the garlic smell

ALLYSOL imparts NO TAIN to breath or person

Send stamps 5d. for TWO 24-page Booklets of Life-conserving information CUT THIS OUT AND SAVE IT (special reason)

GARLIC DEODORISED ANTISEPTICS Ltd. Watnall Lane, Fairlight, Sussex

## ASTHMA

and Catarrh sufferers should send stamp for particulars of Greatest Remedy known to Medical Science. British Medical Laboratories, Ltd. Desk G Heathcote Rd., Boscombe, Hants.

## Pacifists must be realists in the post-war world

by STANLEY DU FEU

TO attempt to live in two worlds is to find oneself in either a fool's paradise or a hell of frustration. Today pacifists must face up to issues as never before if their pacifism is to carry them forward to something new and dynamic in the post-war world.

Most of us have spent the past five years in steering a course through a quagmire of economic insecurity, social disintegration and a private, but often not admitted, desire to preserve our own individuality. Our weakness has been a tendency towards social dilettantism of combining a lip-service to reform and a

mildly progressive intellectual outlook with living as comfortably as possible within the prevailing system.

It is true that our opposition to war has forced us to accept new ways of living and has altered outward forms. Here and there a desire to find new values has become manifest. All this has taken place under the compulsions of total war, and undoubtedly many of the high-sounding ideals and much of the experimenting with new ways of living have been genuine attempts to achieve something vital; but much has been very little more than a rationalization of compulsion; making a virtue of necessity.

### WHAT PEACE WILL BRING

Inwardly many of us are looking forward to the time when we can revert to our old ways of living, and when peace comes will find ourselves making terms with society in order that we may live comfortably. To the more sensitive of us peace will bring opportunities of making manifest our faith, and we look forward to the time when the pacifist role is something more than the negative act of standing against the stream—to the time when the tide will turn and people will respond to a new dynamic that is the very antithesis of war and all that it implies.

Let us be utterly realistic in this matter. Let us face the fact that at the end of the war conditions will fundamentally be far worse than in 1939; that the only justification of our standing out against the war lies in the fact that we have something better to offer the world and that it must be demonstrable in our own lives; that we will be condemned, both in our own eyes and those of the world, if we compromise; that we must then be prepared to make material sacrifices of our own volition, just as we are now prepared to make them under compulsion.

It is futile to attempt the compromise of living in both worlds, and the choice must be made now. The opportunity of making our demonstration may come sooner than we dare hope, and our time for preparation may be already far shorter than that really needed to reorientate ourselves.

### WHERE TO START

Where shall we start? What are the immediate implications? First let us ask ourselves what are the root causes of war; how they are reflected in our own lives. Let each one of us be painfully honest in examining our own individual position by asking whether we are prepared to forgo making demands on other people; whether we value security too highly; whether we really believe in equality; whether we are not possessive, self-seeking and desirous of social recognition.

All such questions have corollaries in action. The determination to resist exploitation and to refrain from exercising rights or privileges; the refusal to live on the earnings of others but to live on the product of one's own labour and to put principle before practice and inward integrity before external freedom—all these things are implicit in the living faith of pacifism and can, by demonstration, point out a new way of life to a sorely tried world.

## AMERICAN C.O.s MAY SERVE OVERSEAS

"YOUR COs represent the largest source of man-power here in the States that UNRRA can draw on," said Governor Herbert Lehman, director of UNRRA, to one of the leaders of a private relief agency in the USA recently (according to the April-June issue of The Catholic CO).

One of the barriers to such service may have been removed (reports Worldover Press) by the defeat in the primary elections a few months ago of Joe Starnes, member of the House of Representatives from Alabama for ten years.

By attaching a rider to the War Department's appropriation Bill in June, 1943, Starnes effectively prevented COs from offering themselves for public health work in China, as well as blocking future participation

## OF MICE ...

Prof. J. P. Scott, of Wabash College, according to The New York Times, has changed a pacifist mouse into a furious fighter. He began by training male mice of the same parentage not to fight by daily stroking them gently. When two males schooled in this fashion were introduced, no fighting occurred.

The professor then trained the amiable males to fight by introducing each to a warrior mouse, who lost no time in giving battle. This was repeated until the non-fighter learned how to fight. When two ex-pacifists were next re-introduced, the struggle began at once. Apparently, according to the editor, the mice had been conditioned to fight any mouse placed in the pen.

Prof. Scott concludes that "the theory of determination of social organization by social behaviour is correct in so far as social dominance based on fighting of male mice is concerned."

## ... AND MEN

Numerically, the problem of the conscientious objector is of little importance. From an ethical point of view the problem is one of re-education, of instilling in the individual the appreciation of his civic responsibilities and of awakening in him a feeling of national conscience and national unity.

—Journal of the American Medical Association, quoted in The Reporter (USA).

## BANGOR PACIFIST CONFERENCE

To the Editor

It may interest readers of Peace News that a conference of "Heddychwyr Cymru" will be held at the George Hotel, Bangor, from Aug. 21-26. Among the speakers will be Dr. Alex Wood, of Cambridge, George M. Ll. Davies, Principal J. Morgan Jones, and other Christian pacifists who have sought to maintain and deepen and explore "the way of peace" in Wales—not only as public policy, but in personal and experimental ways and witness of various kinds.

Those who would care to join this conference will be very welcome and should send at once the booking fee of 5s. towards the total charge of £2 17s. 6d. for the conference to the Rev. D. R. Thomas, 5 Bronistyn Terrace, Aberdare, from whom all particulars may be obtained.

G. M. LL. DAVIES  
D. R. THOMAS

### "STOP ROBOTS" APPEAL

Twenty-eight members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group, have appealed to the "German people and their Government" to cease sending robot bombs over England, reported the New York correspondent of the News Chronicle on Aug. 1.

These are the same 28 religious leaders who last March protested against the Allied obliteration bombing of German cities, and they are now calling on Germany to cease indulging in the "wanton cruelty of robot bombing or other methods of civilian massacre."

### PACIFISTS ABROAD

The Quarterly Newsletter of the War Resisters' International (Summer 1944, No. 59) is now issued. It contains much interesting personal news of some of the widely scattered members of the movement. The News Bulletin of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, "IVSP (No. 28)" announces that it now has a unit serving in the Middle East, but not yet in Europe, and appeals for £10,000 to develop the work. It says: "We do not know what has happened to the majority of IVSP members in foreign countries."

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Postal subscription rates: Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

Displayed advertisements: Maximum size, 8 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

in reconstruction work, relief and social services in South America, the Orient, and "liberated" areas. One unit, already on its way, was halted in South Africa and ordered back to the USA.

Starnes never denied a statement attributed to him, in connexion with his hostility to COs, that he would rather be defeated for re-election than "give in to the damn Quakers." He was opposed by the CIO, the AFL, Negro organizations and liberal groups.

It appears that COs for foreign service—if the possibility materializes—would be chosen from those at present working in Civilian Public Service.

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